Negating the Image

Case Studies in Iconoclasm

Edited by Anne McClanan and Jeff Johnson

ASHGATE

© The individual contributors, 2005

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form, or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise without the prior permission of the publisher.

The authors have asserted their moral rights.

BH301.I52 N44 2005
Negating the image : case studies in iconoclasm

Published b
Ashgate Pu
Gower Hou
Croft Road
Aldershot
Hants GU1
England

Ashgate Publishing Company
131 Main Street
Burlington, VT 05401–5600 USA

Ashgate website: http://www.ashgate.com

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Negating the image : case studies in iconoclasm
1. Iconoclasm 2. Symbolism in art
I. McClanan, Anne L., 1966– II. Johnson, Jeffrey
246.5'3'09

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Negating the image : case studies in iconoclasm / edited by Anne McClanan and Jeffrey Johnson.
p. cm.
Includes index.
ISBN 0-7546-0854-9 (alk. paper)
1. Aesthetics--Case studies. 2. Image (Philosophy)--Case studies. 3. Iconoclasm--Case studies. I. McClanan, Anne L., 1966- II. Johnson, Jeffrey.

BH301.I52N44 2005
701'.03--dc22

2005050019

ISBN 0 7546 0854 9

Typeset by Bournemouth Colour Press, Parkstone, Poole and printed in Great Britain by Biddles Ltd, King's Lynn.

REED COLLEGE LIBRARY
PORTLAND OREGON 97202

Preservation and destruction, oblivion and memory[1]

Dario Gamboni

In 1794, the French moralist Joseph Joubert proposed to consider oblivion in a positive light, as necessary to the arts and sciences as memory itself. He expressed their solidarity and the function of selection fulfilled by oblivion in formulas that seem to aim at providing the caption of an allegory or the motto of an emblem: 'The sieve of oblivion. Or the sifter of oblivion. / Or: Memory and oblivion are the mother and the father of the Muses. Real knowledge is made up of these two things. Or: She holds a sieve in her hand. This sieve is called oblivion' (Joubert, 1966, p. 21).[2] It is probably not by chance that Joubert expressed these thoughts at a time when the material and artistic culture of the Ancien Régime had gone through the 'sieve' of 'revolutionary vandalism' and was being selected to constitute the 'national heritage'.[3] Iconoclasm could be understood as an instrument and a physical expression of oblivion in this active and selective sense. Indeed, it was used to represent the political transformations under way, for instance in the lower right corner of a print by J.-S. Duplessis entitled *The French Revolution*, published in 1792, where one sees Father Time breaking with a hammer the symbols of 'feudalism', including a broken column, coats of arms and crowns (Herding and Reichardt, 1989, fig. 123, pp. 92–3).

Attributing to Time itself the violent accomplishment of the *fin du règne féodal* naturalized the Revolution and reconciled the political and historical sense of the term revolution (end of a cycle and profound transformation of a social order) with its astronomical and mechanical sense (cyclical movement and periodical return of a body to a point in its orbit). In the frontispiece to his collection of prints after Roman antiques published in 1638 (Figure 8.1), François Perrier had shown Time attacking statuary, represented by the Torso Belvedere, not with a hammer but with his teeth. This image corresponded to the myth of Chronos eating his children and, more immediately, to the classical metaphor of *tempus edax rerum*, 'Time the

devourer of all things' (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XV, 234). The degradation and ultimate disappearance of material and artistic productions are here defined as natural and irreversible processes; between Time's feet and his scythe, the self-devouring serpent of Eternity plays with its winding body around a lying column fragment so as to complicate and break the full circle of its cyclical revolution. But Perrier's prints are meant to help the remains of Antiquity 'escape from the jealous tooth of Time' in some measure. The reproductive artist thus assumes the function also claimed by historiography, that of saving the works of art and – when they are known – their authors from oblivion. At the end of the index of names in Carlo Malvasia's *Felsina pittrice: vite dei pittori bolognesi* (Bologna, 1678), the emblem combining the painter's brush and the historian's pen in a laurel wreath is accompanied by the motto *sic nomina vivunt* (so do names live [further]). And on the frontispiece to J. B. Descamps's *La vie des peintres flamands, allemands et hollandois...* (Paris, 1753), a genius discovers the portraits of the great men to hang them in the 'temple of Memory' while another one shows their works to the personification of Painting, who adds praise of them to the narration of the artists' lives.

Iconoclasm had already been used as a metaphor of oblivion in an active, positive sense by theoreticians of the 'art of memory'. In 1611, Schenkelius (Lambert Schenckel) recommended memorizing a discourse by imagining a room with pictures on the walls corresponding to the various ideas to be successively expressed; in order to free the room to devise a new discourse, one should imagine furious men entering it and breaking the pictures by throwing them on the ground and out of the door (Stoichita, 1993, pp. 137–8). Victor Stoichita relates this simile to the iconoclasm of the Reformation and, more directly, to the Flemish paintings of picture collections which include scenes of iconoclasm. Frances Yates has pointed to another link by suggesting that the reform of the art of memory advocated in the sixteenth century by Ramus (Pierre de la Ramée), which consisted of replacing 'the emotionally exciting memory image' with 'the abstract order of dialectical analysis', owed part of its success in Protestant countries to the fact that 'it provided a kind of inner iconoclasm, corresponding to the outer iconoclasm' (Yates, 1966, pp. 34–35, 277–8).

These pictorial and rhetorical equivalences between oblivion and abolition on the one hand and, on the other hand, intentional or unintentional degradation and destruction are predicated upon a double equation between material disappearance and oblivion, material preservation and memory. This equation, which remains generally taken for granted, seems to be based on a causal (rather than only figurative) relationship in so far as the material existence of an object meant to be seen appears to be also a condition of its being and remaining present in the consciousness of viewers. But it is an

equation that calls for serious qualifications, which this essay intends to briefly examine. One can even consider that it expresses an overvaluation of material preservation, which has been contradicted in some of its aspects by the very development of modern art.

First, it must be recalled that material existence is a necessary but not a sufficient condition of visibility. Works of art can be and indeed are often 'buried' in all kinds of store-rooms, bank safes or secret collections where they are accessible to no one or to very few. For everybody else, in such cases, occultation differs from destruction only in its reversibility – a crucial difference, needless to say, in the long run. But even access is not enough, for visibility and invisibility are not inherent and stable properties but the multiple and changing expressions of relationships with viewers. In his *Rediscoveries in Art*, Francis Haskell mentioned the fact that 'the frescoes of Piero della Francesca, the altarpieces of Rogier van der Weyden were seen – and ignored – for centuries' (1980, p. 157). Replacing centuries with decades, one could say as much about many paintings in churches and public buildings of the nineteenth century and of the first half of the twentieth. In a provocative essay entitled 'Behaviours without belief and works of art without spectators' (1988), the French historian of Roman Antiquity Paul Veyne objected against the unrestricted use of iconographical analysis that just as there are rites performed without awareness or comprehension of their intended signification, there are works that are never examined by any one in all their details and were never meant to be. More radically, the Austrian novelist Robert Musil had written in 1927 that paradoxically most remarkable feature of monuments is that one does not notice them, that they are 'impregnated against attention' and 'withdraw from our senses' in an almost active way (1981, pp, 506–9).

'Public space' is understandably the ideal place for works to cease being seen without ceasing to exist. Perception here is ruled by habit, subjected to an inflation of stimuli and generally oriented by non-aesthetic pursuits. When the organizers of the exhibition *Skulptur Projekte 1987* invited artists to intervene in the public space of Münster (Westphalia), the Swiss Rémy Zaugg declared that it was already filled with too many objects. Instead of adding yet another one of his own, he proposed to rescue from oblivion two bronze statues that had been erected in 1912 to mark an entry into the town but had since been removed from their original site and banished to an unfavourable location. Zaugg, who considered that they were thus degraded to the level of trash, attempted to turn them into sculpture again by restoring as far as possible their original conditions of perception (see Bussmann and König, 1987, pp. 262–70; Schmidt, 1993, pp. 104–71). As we have seen, however, standing on a pedestal in a square does not prevent works from slipping into invisibility, and neither does hanging on a museum wall. In a museum, this

metaphorical movement tends to be materialized, made official and enforced by the relegation into a storeroom. One need only think here of all the works of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in public collections which have been, at one moment or another, excluded from the Modernist canon. In a series of works shown at the Venice Biennale in 1993, the Australian artist Jenny Watson pointedly attributed such a fate to an iconographic rather than stylistic cause when she commented on the depiction of a lying nude woman, entitled *Pleasure*, with the inscription 'This painting is in the process of becoming important', while *Domestication* (Figure 8.2), showing a woman cleaning on her knees, was labelled 'This painting is in the process of being relegated to a back room' (see *La Biennale di Venezia*, 1993, vol. 1, pp. 88–9).

Moveable or not, exhibited in the public space or in public buildings, artefacts considered as a part of cultural heritage enjoy a legal protection. A decrease in visibility and value can nevertheless provoke their material degradation and even their elimination, for technical reasons but also, and more profoundly, because it corresponds to an absence of the interest justifying the continuous investments (in time and skill as well as money) necessary to preservation. Of course, the same phenomenon is influenced by factors such as the materials used for the works, the physical conditions of their storage, and the conceptions and practices of the people in charge of their preservation. The effects of such a devaluation or disqualification are at their most destructive when the objects in question are fragile and belong to a category that comes to lose the very status of work of art. It then needs a 'rediscovery' to draw attention to their existence (past or present) and to their degradation. A good example of this is provided by sculptures of the nineteenth century and of the first half of the twentieth, especially by plasters (original plasters as well as plaster casts), which have been neglected and destroyed in great quantities. In cases of this kind, there is indeed a correspondence between destruction and oblivion, but oblivion comes first: rather than following destruction, it precedes and provokes it; or, to put it another way, destruction does not lead to oblivion but derives from it.

The situation is different when the destruction of an artwork does not result from its presence being too weak but on the contrary too strong – in other words, when the necessary or fortuitous combination of its properties with characteristics of the viewers and of the context (spatial, social or historical) make it appear as a 'scandal' that 'offends the eye', to quote phrases that have been in use at least from the Reformation to the present time (see Christin, 1991; Poulot, 1995; Gamboni, 1997). Negative reactions, especially when they are collective, increase the work's visibility. When an open conflict arises and the elimination requested by one party meets with the resistance of another one, then the stakes involved in the controversy can make the litigious object lastingly memorable even if it disappears materially.

What is remembered is not only the object, but all that has attached itself to it in the course of the fight for and against it and all that this fight has brought to light. This may go well beyond the specifics of the case, to the point of symbolizing a general problem, transformation or epoch.

This was the case, for instance, with two works respectively dismantled in 1989 and 1992, Richard Serra's *Tilted Arc* and Nicolai Tomski's *Lenin monument*. The former has become famous as an example of the difficulties encountered by 'public art' and modern sculpture in the public space, the latter as a symbol of 'Socialist Realism' and of the fall of the Communist regimes. The parallelism I point out in their fate is not meant to suggest any intrinsic kinship between the two, but it may well imply that despite the opposite relationship of these two works to artistic autonomy, their removal expressed a general crisis of monumental values. The cases are too complex to be dealt with here at length (see Weyergraf-Serra and Buskirk, 1991; Elfert, 1992; Gamboni, 1997, pp. 79–85, 155–64; Senie, 2002). Suffice it to say that *Tilted Arc* was commissioned by the American General Services Administration for Federal Plaza in Manhattan, where it was installed in 1981, while the *Lenin monument* had been commissioned by the East German government for Leninplatz in East Berlin and inaugurated in 1970. Serra's work was removed by the same federal office that had commissioned it, but under changed political circumstances (the Reagan government and administration) and on the basis of opposition voiced by users of the site. There arose so much controversy and resistance, however, that the dismantling had to take place at night, on 15 March 1989. The removal of Tomski's statue was decided by the Senate of the City of Berlin. It was equally surrounded by polemics, proved technically difficult, and lasted from November 1991 until its completion on 8 February 1992. One can consider it as a belated result of the collapse of the East German state and a more direct result of the re-unification of German politics. In both cases, the removal was officially meant to be provisional but has proved so far to equate to destruction, due to material damage caused by the dismantling, to the still unfavourable political context, and in Serra's case to the artist's insistence on the 'site-specificity' of his work. In both cases, the destructive outcome of the controversy has been commented upon continuously, in situ and beyond, by verbal and by visual means (for instance posters, sprayed inscriptions and stencil silhouettes of the *Lenin monument* on its empty plinth).

One cannot attribute the posthumous fame and endurance of *Tilted Arc* and of Tomski's *Lenin monument* to their 'destruction' or removal alone. But in the historical process including their production and their reception, the moment of their material disappearance corresponded to an important and lasting expansion rather than to a weakening of their indirect presence. The same can be said of works of sculpture and architecture recently targeted in

the course of internal or international conflicts, such as the Old Bridge of Mostar in Bosnia, the giant statues of Buddha in Bamiyan, Afghanistan, or the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York. In such cases, awareness of the absence and suffering over the associated wounds and losses can even lead to reconstructions, currently effected in Mostar and envisioned in Bamiyan (see Gamboni, 2001; Bailey, 2002; 'Target Architecture', 2002). This is by no means an automatic phenomenon, however. There are works that have caused scandal and have been destroyed, but were forgotten all the same. A case in point is Gustave Courbet's anticlerical painting, *Return from the Conference*. It was refused in 1863 at the Salon and even at the Salon des Refusés, and was bought by a Catholic who destroyed it at the beginning of the twentieth century. As Shigemi Inaga has pointed out, this did not prevent it from failing to gain any position worth mentioning in the history of art (1996 [1989]).

Destruction, therefore, does not suffice – any more than does preservation – to guarantee permanence. But it can contribute to it, and this is enough to challenge the equation between destruction and oblivion and to justify a theoretical distinction between memory and material survival. One could object that the kind of 'mental preservation' that can be fostered by material elimination is bought with an impoverishment and fossilization of a work that tends to be reduced to the abstraction in the name of which it is remembered. Indeed, the loss of the material object diminishes the possibilities of confrontation, reinterpretation and even modification which a preserved work is capable of offering or suffering. But the extent of such an impoverishment depends on the distance which, in each case, separates the lost original from the traces it has left; and the history of preserved works shows that they are anything but safe from reductive and immobilizing interpretations. It can also happen that works withdrawn from perception gain in the process a semantic and expressive openness or suggestivity comparable to that of some unrealized projects and immaterial creations.

A central issue in this respect is that of the visual traces or surrogates of lost works. In the age of mechanical – and now digital – reproduction, works of art may or (rather) may not have lost their 'aura', but they certainly have augmented their means of indirect existence and survival (see Benjamin, 1969; Heinich, 1983). This process had actually started well before the advent of photography, as François Perrier's print (Figure 8.1) reminds us, and I have mentioned that it was also the self-appointed task of the history of art to contribute to it with verbal descriptions and comments. It must be observed in passing that the message of Perrier's frontispiece is ambiguous because the fragmentary form in which it shows us the Torso Belvedere, about to be further devoured by Father Time, is the one in which this statue had so

impressed its viewers from the time of its discovery in the early fifteenth century that it became the very symbol of the art of sculpture.[4]

But the advancement of the means of reproduction has done more than duplicate originals and allow painting, for instance as Odilon Redon recognized in 1876, to compete with the 'power of multiplication' of literature and obtain 'a new security assured in time' (Redon, 1961, p. 55). It has also freed artists from the obligation of surviving through the material substance of their works. Reflecting upon the problems involved in the continuing expansion of 'cultural heritage', David Lowenthal (1989; 1993) has emphasized the contradictions of material preservation and proposed, as alternatives to it, the preservation of fragments, of processes and of representations, which is traditionally practised in the cultures of China and Japan (see also Ryckmans, 1989). His critique of the cult of heritage can be compared with a recent comment on *Tilted Arc* by David Antin, who stated that it should be possible to destroy works of public art in a ritual fashion that would honour their creator and concluded:

> one of the great things about artworks that go away is they remain in your mind. And you can use them. They can become part of other artworks. While if they clutter up the space, you eventually have insufficient space to put up anything else. So from my point of view removal is a greater problem than preservation.
>
> (1992, p. 260)

Antin's notion of a finite space that can be 'cluttered up' and must be emptied to make room for something new is a physical equivalent of Schenkelius' image of the mental space of memory, which must be violently freed from its pictures to make room for the preparation of a new discourse. The competition between preserved works and works to come that it suggests may refer implicitly to the fight for artistic recognition within what Pierre Bourdieu called the 'artistic field' (also a spatial metaphor) and to the avant-garde ideology of the 'clean slate'. Indeed, Antin's wish for a ritual and respectful destruction of extant works of public art evokes Robert Rauschenberg's *Erased de Kooning Drawing, 1953* (San Francisco Museum of Modern Art), which – among other things – gave a ritual expression to the conflict of artistic generations and turned the work it obliterated into a monument to its own destruction. There has been in recent years an increasing tendency on the part of artists or would-be artists to claim as art unauthorized modifications of works by others exhibited in museums or galleries (see Kastner, 1997; Gamboni, 1998). And one notices a logically related tendency, within the academic discussion of iconoclasm, to question the opposition between creation and destruction and consider that later transformations, including violent ones, can be part of the continued existence of images and works of art.[6] When it comes to actual physical

interventions, this tendency raises major ethical as well as legal issues. To what extent does the claim to 'free' a work from the museum or to 'expose' its commodification by interfering with its material integrity, as suggested by Tony Shafrazi about Picasso's *Guernica* in 1974 and by Alexander Brener about Malevich's Suprematism (*White Cross on Grey Background*) in 1997, paradoxically fall prey to the fetishization of material preservation, in so far as it finds it necessary to appropriate the original (rather than a surrogate) and to impose itself upon all future viewers?

Taking advantage of the liberation provided by means of reproduction, an important part of the art of the twentieth century has in fact endeavoured to challenge the will to last and to organize transience from its inception. In this respect, it represents a treasure-trove of experiments that may be more ambivalent but is at least as rich as that of traditional Far Eastern civilizations. An early example is Marcel Duchamp's *Unhappy Readymade* realized in 1919 in Paris by his sister Suzanne and his brother-in-law Jean Crotti after the instructions he had sent from Buenos Aires as a wedding gift. While most other Readymades were thrown away and replaced when needed, the *Unhappy Readymade* was a kind of 'performance' *ante litteram* and implied the destruction of its material element, a geometry book attached to a balcony so that the wind would blow through its pages. It survived by means of a photograph, modified by Duchamp and included in his 1941 *Boîte-en-valise*, and of Suzanne's painting *Le Readymade malheureux de Marcel* (1920, private collection) (Naumann, 1982, p. 13). Auto-destructive works found their greatest development in the 1960s and a climax was already reached on 17 March 1960 with Jean Tinguely's *Homage to New York*, a memorable and well-remembered 'mechanical happening' organized in the garden of the Museum of Modern Art (see Hultén, 1967, pp. 126 ff.; Hoffmann, 1995).

While the materials of Tinguely's *Homage* and of most analogous works were not preserved, those of later constructions/destructions have often obtained an ambiguous status, hesitating between that of document, surrogate, relic, fragment and even full-fledged artwork. In 1993, Jean-Pierre Raynaud decided to demolish his house of La Celle-Saint-Cloud, a *Gesamtkunstwerk* that had been open to the public from 1971 to 1988, and exhibited the pieces for sale in 976 surgical containers presented at the CAPC in Bordeaux (Figure 8.3). Commenting on this gesture in the French journal *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, François Chaslin made of the destruction an instrument of memory: 'Raynaud pushed his radical logic to the end, wiping the slab clear so as to build in our memories, for a long time, this immaterial mausoleum' (1993, pp. 55–6).[7] The demolition of a house, which may seem to radicalize indeed Schenkelius' emptying of a room, thus leads to the erection of a mental monument of its own. To the extent that it deals with the memory

of sensorial experiences and replaces their material source with mental images, it is indeed on the side of inner iconophily rather than iconoclasm (see Yates, 1966; Latour and Weibel, 2002).

The German preservationist Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper has recently proposed to add to the catalogue of monumental values defined in 1903 by Alois Riegl a *Streitwert*, a 'conflict value' corresponding to the monuments' capacity to provoke controversies and debates (Dolff-Bonekämper, 2003).[8] Conceptualizing this capacity as a positive and active virtue helps shift the attention from the monuments (and more generally the works of art) as material objects to their function and potential as *Bedeutungsträger* and *Bedeutungsstifter*, bearers and creators of meaning. I have already mentioned that, in a similar way, re-examining the relations between preservation and destruction, oblivion and memory can help relativize material preservation and take advantage of the alternative models offered by other cultures and by the (in this respect still implicit) tradition of modern and contemporary art. The fact that physically extant works can nevertheless cease to 'live' is well known and has been expressed in many ways. Museums have from the start been criticized as 'cemeteries', for instance by Joubert's compatriot and contemporary Quatremère de Quincy, who denounced them as 'demolition studios' where only matter had been transported, not feelings, ideas or relationships (Quatremàre de Quincy, 1989 [1815]; Haskell, 1983). Confronted at the beginning of the twentieth century with the Chinese attitude toward art, time and matter, the French physician and poet Victor Segalen advocated the acceptance of 'the ages in their successive fall' and reversed Ovid and Perrier by praising 'time in its voracity'; more recently, the sinologist Pierre Ryckmans joined in this praise by writing that in China 'continuity is not ensured by the immobilism of inanimate objects; it is achieved through the fluidity of successive generations' (Segalen, 1995 [1914]; Ryckmans, 1989).

However, objects are 'inanimate' – as far as we are concerned – only when they are not involved in some interaction with humans. Their 'death' is never definitive, and the moment when they may or will reawaken from their sleep cannot always be predicted. Nowadays, the heritage industry is continuously searching for untapped resources, and the hold of event-based exhibitions on visitors' priorities leads museums to try and lure them into their permanent collections by having contemporary artists 'resuscitate' dormant displays by means of temporary interventions. It has already been hinted that (would-be) artists' iconoclastic assaults on works of art are sometimes intended (or claimed to be intended) as ways to 'save' the works in question from their museum embalming. The growing tendency to accept or discuss such claims speaks of a conception of artistic agency that is increasingly collective and open to temporal change (see, for example, Gell, 1998, esp. pp. 62–5). While it can be problematic in such extreme cases, this evolution seems to me to be

as a whole positive. I have argued elsewhere that elimination and preservation are really two sides of the same coin. It would be better to recognize this fact and explicitly to plan both together – to the extent that they can be planned – in the interest of memory and debate rather than of material preservation for its own sake.

Notes

1 A first version of this paper was published in French in Wessel Reinink and Jeroen Stumpel (eds), *Memory & Oblivion: Proceedings of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art held in Amsterdam, 1–7 September 1996*, Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1999, pp. 897–903.

2 'Le tamis de l'oubli. Ou le crible de l'oubli. / Ou: La mémoire et l'oubli sont la mère et le père des muses. Le vrai scavoir est composé de ces deux choses. Ou: elle tient dans sa main un crible. Ce crible est appelé l'oubli.'

3 See especially Poulot (1995). The idea that the 'art of forgetting' is as important as the 'art of remembering' had already been put forth by Cicero in his *De oratore* (II, xliv, 299–300); see Stoichita (1993), p. 137.

4 Michelangelo reportedly refused to complete it; see Le Normand-Romain (1990).

5 'Imaginez les musées reproduits ainsi [i.e. by photography]. L'esprit se refuse à calculer l'importance que prendrait soudain la peinture ainsi placée sur le terrain de la puissance littéraire (puissance de multiplication) et de sa sécurité nouvelle assurée dans le temps.'

6 See the contribution by Finbarr Barry Flood in the present volume and Flood (2003).

7 'Raynaud est allé au bout de sa logique, de son implacable radicalité, faisant table rase pour coucher dans nos mémoires, et pour longtemps, ce mausolée immatériel.'

8 See also my observation on 'stumbling-statues' in 'Statues d'achoppement', in *La statuaire publique au XIXe siècle*, Paris: Monum, forthcoming.

References

Antin, David (1992), 'Fine furs', in Mitchell, W. J. T. (ed.), *Art and the Public Sphere*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, pp. 249–61.

Bailey, Martin (2002), 'Bamiyan Buddhas may be rebuilt', *The Art Newspaper* **13** (123), March, 1–4.

Benjamin, Walter (1969), 'The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction', in Arendt, Hannah (ed.), *Illuminations*, New York: Schocken Books, pp. 217–25.

Bussmann, Klaus and König, Kasper (eds) (1987), *Skulptur Projekte in Münster 1987*, exh. cat. (Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Münster), Cologne: DuMont.

Chaslin, François (1993), 'Les mille chutes de la maison Raynaud', *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* **288**, 55–6.

Christin, Olivier (1991), *Une révolution symbolique. L'iconoclasme huguenot et la reconstruction catholique*, Paris: Minuit.

Dolff-Bonekämper, Gabi (2003), 'Lieux de mémoire et lieux de discorde: la valeur conflictuelle des monuments', in Recht, Roland (ed.), *Victor Hugo et le débat patrimonial*, Paris: Somogy/Institut national du patrimonie, pp. 121–44.

Elfert, Eberhard (1992), 'Die politischen Denkmäler der DDR im ehemaligen Ost-Berlin und unser Lenin', in *Demontage ... revolutionärer oder restaurativer Bildersturm? Texte und Bilder*, Berlin: Karin Kramer, pp. 53–8.

Flood, Finbarr Barry, with Strother, Z. S. (2003), 'Between creation and destruction: the

aesthetics of "iconoclasm"', for the 91st Annual Conference of the College Art Association, New York, 19–22 February.

Gamboni, D. (1997), *The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism Since the French Revolution*, London and New Haven: Reaktion Books/Yale University Press.

Gamboni, D. (1998), 'The abolition of art: labels, distinctions and history', in Dallal, Alberto (ed.), *La Abolición del arte*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, pp. 17–39.

Gamboni, D. (2001), 'World heritage: shield or target?', *Conservation: The Getty Conservation Institute Newsletter* **16** (2), 5–11.

Gell, Alfred (1998), *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Haskell, Francis (1980), *Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France*, London: Phaidon.

Haskell, Francis (1983), 'Les musées et leurs ennemis', *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* **49**, September, 103–6.

Heinich, Nathalie (1983), 'L'aura de Walter Benjamin. Note sur "l'ouvre d'art à l'ère de sa reproductibilité technique"', *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* **49**, September, 106–9.

Herding, Klaus and Reichardt, Rolf (1989) *Die Bildpublizistik der Französischen Revolution*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Hoffmann, Justin (1995), *Destruktionskunst: Der Mythos der Zerstörung in der Kunst der frühen sechziger Jahre*, Munich: Silke Schreiber.

Hultén, K. G. Pontus (1967), *Jean Tinguely 'Méta'*, Paris: Horay.

Inaga, Shigemi (1996), 'Retour de la conférence: une ouvre perdue de Gustave Courbet et sa position (manquée) dans l'histoire de l'art', *Les amis de Gustave Courbet*, 94–5, 30–43 (first published 1989).

Joubert, Joseph (1966), *Pensées*, ed. Georges Poulet, Paris: Union Générale d'Editions.

Kastner, Jeffrey (1997), 'Art attack', *ARTnews* **96**, October, 154–6.

La Biennale di Venezia. XLV Esposizione Internazionale d'Arte (1993), Punti cardinali dell'arte, exh. cat., vol. 1, Venice: Marsilio.

Latour, Bruno and Weibel, Peter (eds) (2002), *Iconoclash: Beyond the Image Wars in Science, Religion and Art*, exh. cat. (Zentrum für Kunst und Medientechnologie, Karlsruhe), Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press.

Le Normand-Romain, Antoinette (1990), 'Torse du Belvédère', in *Le corps en morceaux*, exh. cat. (Musée d'Orsay, Paris; Schirn Kunsthalle, Frankfurt am Main), Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, pp. 99–115.

Lowenthal, David (1989), 'Material preservation and its alternatives', *Perspecta: The Yale Architectural Journal*, **25**, 67–77.

Lowenthal, D. (1993), 'Memory and oblivion', *Museum Management and Curatorship* **12**, 171–82.

Musil, Robert (1981), 'Denkmale', in *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 7, Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt.

Naumann, Francis M. (1982), 'Affectueusement, Marcel: ten letters from Marcel Duchamp to Suzanne Duchamp and Jean Crotti', *Archives of American Art Journal* **22** (4), 2–19.

Poulot, Dominique (1995) 'Revolutionary "vandalism" and the birth of the museum: the effects of a representation of modern cultural terror', in Pearce, Susan (ed.), *Art in Museums*, New Research in Museum Studies 5, London and Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Athlone, pp. 192–214.

Quatremère de Quincy (1989), *Considérations morales sur la destination des ouvrages de l'art*, in Quatremère de Quincy, Considérations morales sur la destination des ouvrages de l'art suivi de Lettres sur l'enlèvement des ouvrages de l'art antique à Athènes et à Rome, Paris: Fayard, pp. 47–8 (first published Paris, 1815).

Redon, Odilon (1961 [1922]), *A soi-même. Journal (1867–1915). Notes sur la vie, l'art et les artistes*, Paris: Corti.

Ryckmans, Pierre (1989), 'The Chinese attitude toward the past', in Lavin, Irving (ed.), *World Art: Themes of Unity in Diversity*, Acts of the XXVIth International Congress of the History of Art, University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, vol. 3, pp. 809–12.

Schmidt, Eva (ed.) (1993), *Rémy Zaugg. Vom Bild zur Welt*, Cologne: Walther König.

Segalen, Victor (1995), 'Aux dix mille années', in Segalen, Victor, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Henry Bouillier, Paris: Robert Laffont, vol. 2, pp. 52–3 (first published in Stèles, Paris, 1914).

Senie, Harriet F. (2002), *The 'Tilted Arc' Controversy: Dangerous Precedent?*, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Stoichita, Victor (1993), *L'instauration du tableau. Métapeinture à l'aube des Temps modernes*, Paris: Méridiens Klincksieck.

'Target Architecture: The Role of Old Buildings in the Management of Global Conflict', (2002), papers of the conference held at Columbia University, New York, 23 February.

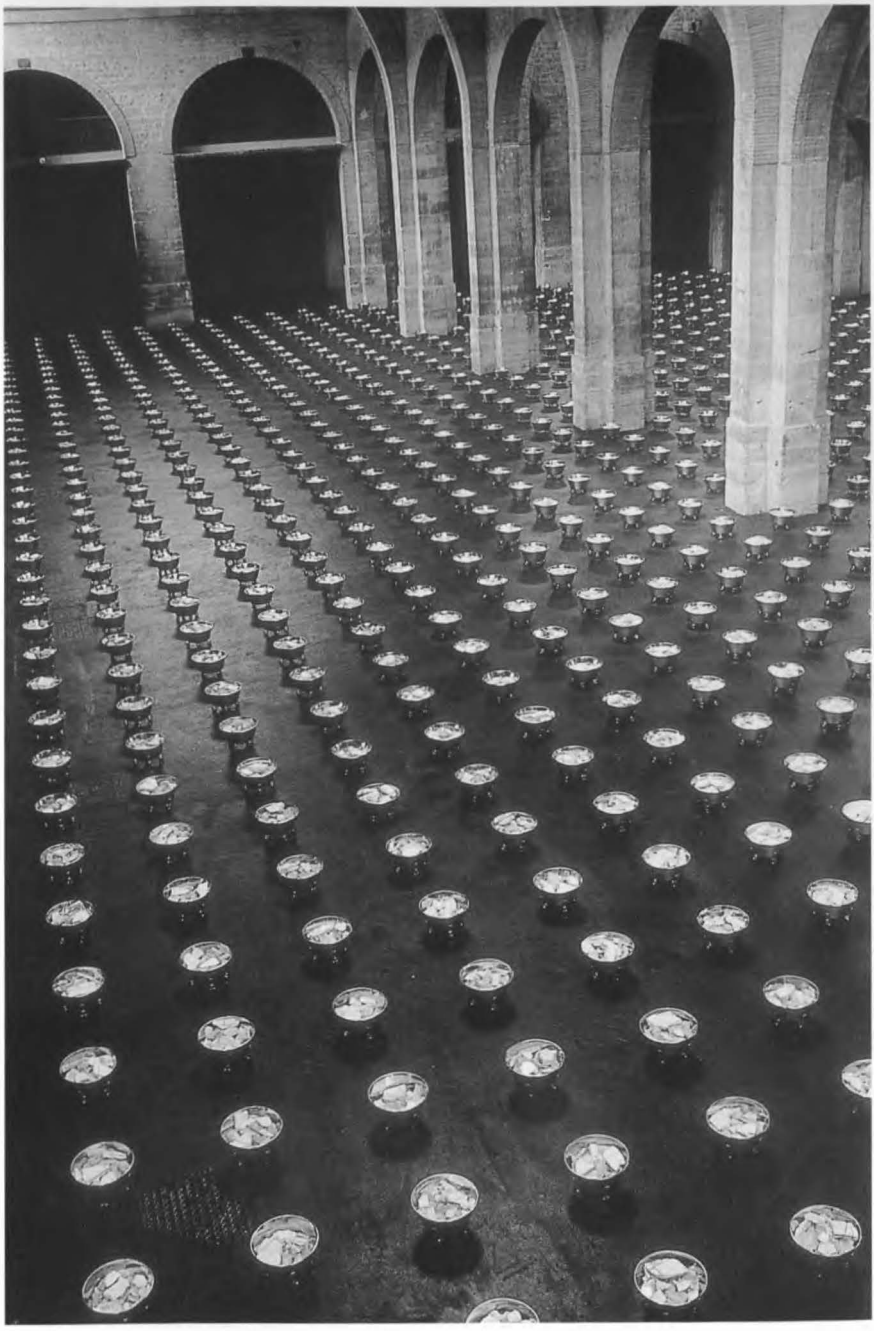
Veyne, Paul (1988), 'Conduites sans croyance et ouvres d'art sans spectateurs', *Diogène* **143**, July–September, 3–22.

Weyergraf-Serra, Clara and Buskirk, Martha (1991), *The Destruction of 'Tilted Arc': Documents*, Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press.

Yates, Frances A. (1966), *The Art of Memory*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press/Routledge and Kegan Paul.

8.1 François Perrier, frontispiece of *Segmenta nobilium et statuarii*, 23.6 x 15.5 cm, engraving, 1638

8.2 Jenny Watson, *Domestication*, 80 x 147 cm and 50.5 x 40.5 cm, oil on taffeta and polymer paint on synthetic material, 1992, private collection



8.3 Jean-Pierre Raynaud, *The House*, temporary installation, 1993, CAPC, Bordeaux